10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

848 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told those at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

845 Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a
● 732 child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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were badly crippled," she said. "I massaged them, and also his head, for his fontanels were far apart. I kept a band tied about his head. He would not nurse until he was two days old. To wean him I gave him solid foods—he choked on them. In fact, he choked on food until he was seven years old. Whenever he did so, I reached into his throat with two fingers [indicated third and fourth] and removed the food. Some women used to chide me for not having poked my fingers down his throat when he was a baby and thus cleared his throat for always, them. But it was not our custom to do that."

In Chan Chan of Alepúe area, children were born with soft bones, a condition non-Araucanian herbalists believed due to calcium deficiency. Four such children were born to one couple; two to each of three others; and one to another. All but one of the 11 children died when two or three years of age; one lived to be six.

A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a child, who was then one year old, whose parents kept it hidden from view because they were ashamed of its deformed face. The child, when a few months old, had fallen into the fire while tied to its cradle, the mother having left a small child to tend the baby while she went to fetch water. Because of a scar the child's lower eyelid was drawn out of position.

No crippled children or adults were seen during the present study. A non-Araucanian who had lived 50 years among the Araucanians was certain that no crippled child had been killed in recent years, but he knew with certainty that formerly a child born crippled or one thought mentally so weak as to leave no hope of normal development was killed. Cooper's source states that deformed children were thrown into the water or were suffocated with mud, as were children born out of wedlock (1946, p. 733).

A sick child is given herbal decoctions made of household remedies of the kinds given to adults, only in smaller or diluted dosages. "Every mother knows what to give." If these fail, an Araucanian woman herbalist is sent for. Formerly, if the remedies of the Araucanian herbalists were not effective, parents called in a machi to perform a machitun. In recent years a non-Araucanian herbalist is usually called in before the machi is, but if no cure is forthcoming, the machi is invited to take over. A machitun had been performed over 3 of 53 school children in Alepúe area. A baby's first and subsequent baths are thought to insure good health.

No Araucanian was known to have been born blind; nor was a case of blindness known to non-Araucanian herbalists except an Alepúe woman who lost the sight of an infected eye when she was 2 years old. Wall-eyed children and adults were frequently seen in all areas. Deafness is very rare; no case of total deafness was known.

19: Hilger E-9 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[553] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if [684] the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, 755 and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less than 2 years old cried because its grandmother, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 278). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 303-304) was performed over a critically sick child. 855 755

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the latuwe (p. 270) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Hot infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

Color Blindness, Left-handedness, Speech Defects

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand." 732 193

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

Adoptions, Captives

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house. 597

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an 727 597

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get some of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feebleminedness was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work